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people of various religious persuasions are allowed a limited and shrinking area of belief and action by an authoritarian government, which reserves the fundamental right to control all education, communication, and public and private morality. On the grounds of anti-superstition, anti-imperialism, and anti-feudalism, the government and Party move steadily, with only occasional tactical retreats, towards the liquidation of religion in China.

Both pre-Communist trends and Communist policies should be kept in mind as we consider religion in the Central-South Region.

II. BUDDHISM

This oldest of imported religions shows, in its recent development, some of the trends just noted. Despite the efforts of the noted abbot Tai-hsü (1889-1946), Buddhism never competed successfully for the allegiance of the intellectuals. The effort to transform it into a modern religion, by updating both its theology and its social program, failed, although for a time it seemed to show signs of an increasing vitality. Under warlord and nationalist governments its personnel and establishments suffered severe attrition. Its establishments were taxed, its temples were converted to secular use by warlords, Kuomintang officials, and the local gentry. Much Buddhist property was confiscated, and tenants on Buddhist land refused to pay their rent. Monks and nuns were driven from their temples in cities where up to 80

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per cent of Buddhist establishments were secularized.[5] 779 798

The Japanese attempt to use Buddhism as an ideology to bind together their puppet regimes in China and Southeast Asia probably generated widespread anti-Buddhism sentiment throughout Free and Occupied China.

The older clergy of monks and nuns was accused of being corrupt and parasitic by modern Buddhists, but efforts at sweeping fundamental reform failed; the motivation for becoming a member of such a clergy remained largely negative.[6] Thus gradual 779

5. Cf. Wing-tsit Chan, Religious Trends in Modern China, New York, 1953, pp. 55-56. This summary is from Ta-hsing, "Fifteen Years of Religious Catastrophes in Retrospect," Hai-ch'ao-yin [The Sound of the Sea Tide], a magazine, Vol. XVI, No. 1, Jan. 1935.

6. Chan, Religious Trends, pp. 81-82, citing Reichelt, Truth and Tradition in Chinese Buddhism, pp. 231-34, lists reasons given by Chinese nuns for entering holy orders. Unhappy marriages account for a great number, and 60 to 70 per cent made the choice because no other solution presented itself. Other reasons for entering holy orders include: genuine and deep faith; presented to the church by parents because of devotion, sickness, lack of support, or an astrologer's advice; sense of helplessness after husband's death; poverty, family troubles or other disappointments; influence of sisters, et al, who had become nuns; and servants seeking escape from the cruelty of their mistresses.

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extinction of the Buddhist order seemed only a matter of time. But as late as 1930, the Buddhist clergy in the Central-South Region were numerous.[7]

Province	Buddhist Clergy	Temples, Monasteries, and Nunneries
Honan	2,960	1,350
Hupeh	76,040	17,260
Hunan	62,400	3,540
Kiangsi	2,640	1,150
Kwangtung	19,120	12,900
Kwangsi	460	290

It is not possible to trace the decline from 1936 onward, but the pressures of war and invasion added to those noted above probably contributed to a sharp reduction of both clergy and establishments in this area. Communist measures have probably eliminated most of what remained. Buddhist establishments in China as a whole appear to have declined in number from 268,494 in 1930[8] to about 130,000 in 1947[9] to "less than 100" in 1954.[10] Estimates on the

7. Shen-pao Nien-chien [Shen-pao Yearbook] 1933, p. T2.

8. Ibid.; basis of figures is data collected by the China Buddhist Association.

9. Communist Atrocities and Persecutions of Buddhism on the China Mainland, [a four-page pamphlet], Buddhist Association of China, Taiwan, 1954, hereinafter cited as Atrocities.

10. Ibid.

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Estimates on the 779
total number[11] of clergy vary, but in 1931 they 793
appear to have numbered 500,000 - 600,000. Refugees reported that four out of every seven clerics had been forced to return to lay life.[12] By 1954 it was estimated that there were only 2,500 clergy remaining in the whole of China, "of which half are Chinese Communist Party agents."[13] Even allowing for exaggeration, it would appear that the Buddhist clergy as a group has been nearly eliminated and that its dwindling influence in society has reached the vanishing point.

While the traditional clergy was in decline, 779
Buddhist laymen assisted by a few monks attempted 794
the reinvigoration of the Chinese Buddhist community. Modern-minded Buddhists felt that a lesson could be learned from Protestantism in the West: than an entrenched clergy could not be the instrument of sweeping reform. Hence their efforts were concentrated on building lay organizations of various kinds: social welfare organizations such as the Red Swastika Society (modeled on the Red Cross), YMBA and YWBA patterned on the YMCA and YWCA, Buddhist schools and seminaries to train a modern clergy, and research centers for the re-evaluation of the Buddhist heritage. They attempted to reach out and join hands with Buddhists in other Asiatic countries, and good-will tours and conferences were

11. Chan, op. cit., pp. 80-81.
12. Chan, op. cit., pp. 90-91.
13. Atrocities.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF14 Central China AF14

organized. Buddhist writing and publishing were encouraged.[14]

The Chinese Buddhist Association, founded in 1914 to oppose the effort to make Confucianism a state religion, continued as the main organization of Chinese Buddhists. It claimed 4,620,000 members in 1947, but its organization was loose and weak; it included heterogeneous components: Buddhist philosophers, simple believers, reformist clergy and many of the old clergy, nationalists, internationalists, and Japan-oriented pan-Asians. The great abbot T'ai-hsü, master monk-politician, tried to weld these elements into a strong, effective, and enduring organization which could formulate an attractive long range program and defend Buddhism against attack. But he ultimately failed, and the Buddhists of China had not the means to defend themselves against Kuomintang pressure; when the Communist came, the Buddhists had a stronger adversary and neither the means nor the spirit to resist. Some residue of the modern Buddhist movement may be found in the Central-South Region, and the statistics of 1930 may suggest where the movement is strongest. The following is a breakdown, by provinces, of the number of Buddhist believers then claimed by the China Buddhist Association. The second column gives the number of modern type Buddhist organizations such as schools, translation and publication societies, missionary societies,

14. Chan, op. cit., pp. 1-62, points out that 537 Buddhist works and 58 Buddhist periodicals were published in the years 1920-35 in all parts of China. Most of the periodicals were short-lived.

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etc.[15]

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Province	Lay Adherents	Modern Organizations
Honan	4,070	3
Hupeh	286,900	17
Hunan	64,100	15
Kiangsi	26,700	10
Kwangtung	154,550	28
Kwangsi	2,730	17

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Such Buddhist schools and institutes as had survived have been taken over by the Communists. Buddhist periodicals have been stopped, publishing houses closed. Two Communist-sponsored Buddhist magazines have appeared, one in Peking, one in Shanghai; they are devoted to reconciling Buddhism and Marxism.[16] A new Chinese Buddhist Association was formed in Peking in November 1952, with several leading Buddhist scholars among its leaders. Unlike the earlier Buddhist Association, which was organized by Buddhists to reform and defend their faith, the new body is sponsored, organized, and manipulated by the state and Party. In May 1951, a Party central committeeman outlined the chief tasks for Chinese Buddhists: (1) participation in

15. Shen-pao Nien-chien [The Shen-pao Yearbook] 1933, p. T2.

16. Atrocities. According to this report the circulation of Communist-sponsored Buddhist magazines is very limited.

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land reform, (2) opposition to counterrevolutionaries, (3) participation in the Resist-America-Aid-Korea Movement, and (4) recognition of the duty to construct a new religion in the new society.[17] The new association, like all others in Communist China, will be primarily used for the indoctrination and control of its members.

In the principal cities a few temples are maintained; a biased account says that the number of Peking temples in religious use has fallen from 1,300 to 3, that in Nanking the number has decreased from 400 to 1.[18] There are occasional reports of Buddhist ceremonies, such as the celebration of the Buddha's birth day.[19] We have no detailed reports from the Central-South Region, but it is reasonable to assume that Buddhism is being steadily and systematically eliminated from the life of the area. Buddhist belief is a handicap to youth who must adopt Marxist orthodoxy in order to succeed in life. The old may cling to their beliefs, but their influence on their children is now slight. The cadres in the countryside are attacking "superstition," and their ridicule of old Buddhist-linked observances is

17. Richard L. Walker, China Under Communism, pp. 188-9.

18. Atrocities

19. New China News Agency, Peking, May 29, 1955; Survey of China Mainland Press, No. 1058, p. 48.

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probably further undermining the faith. The clergy, never up to their task of serving a modern type religious community, has been largely secularized. There is little in Buddhist doctrine to steel the believer to resist authority or the trend of the times. The willingness of some Buddhist leaders to openly embrace Communist doctrine has probably undermined what little will to resist there may have been.[20]

III. TAOISM

Some of the tendencies noted in the modern history of Chinese Buddhism are also to be found in Taoism. But the differences are many, and they spring from fundamental differences between the two religions.

It is convenient for our purpose to consider two levels of Taoism. One is Taoism as an organize

20. The outstanding example is Chü-tsan -- a modern-minded reformist monk with an excellent background in philosophy, religion, and social work -- the latter particularly in Hunan. He was one of two Buddhist delegates (out of 585) to the People's Political Consultative Conference. Chan, op. cit., p. 92, records Chü-tsan's willingness as of 1948 to support a Communist regime. Cf. also, Chü-tsan's article, "A Buddhist Monk's Life," in China Reconstructs, Jan.-Feb. 1954, pp. 42-44.

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religion; the other is Taoism as a folk religion at the village level.[21] The Taoist religion developed as a reaction to the challenge of the imported faith of Buddhism. It borrowed extensively from its alien rival; its scriptures, its clerical hierarchy and organization, its rituals, its heavens and hells were often scarcely disguised copies of those of Buddhism. Its decline over the last five-hundred years has been slow but steady; in recent years its decline has accelerated. Some aspects of this decline should be noted. Intellectual vitality has long since disappeared, and there was little on which to base a modern revival of the religion. The priesthood, divided between northern and southern sects, was largely locally recruited; there was no central control exercised by the hereditary "Heavenly Teachers" (T'ien-shih) of the two sects, and the monks gained the reputation of being idle and corrupt. If their way of life was hardly inspiring, their practical function no longer involved spiritual leadership but only astrological and magical performances for those of the population who might still believe in them.[22] The last "Heavenly Master" of the Southern School was driven from his headquarters in Kiangsi by the Communists in 1927; in 1949 he was again a refugee in Macao and had "decided that it was time

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21. The residue of philosophic Taoism is dealt with in the chapter on Basic Attitudes.

22. Chan, op. cit., pp. 146-52.

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for him to buy some books to read."[23] The last abbot of the headquarters of the Northern School, the Po-yun-kuan at Peking, was burned alive by his fellow monks in 1947 when his corruption became too flagrant; the Nationalist government then confiscated the lands which had long supported the Po-yun-kuan.

Religious Taoism has not had the inspiration or the leadership to develop modern doctrines and programs as Buddhism and Islam have done. There was an abortive effort at a national Taoist association in the years 1912-1915,[24] but this was not accompanied by any rallying of believers, nor was it followed by the development of any social, educational, or medical program. Taoist temples have been steadily secularized, and it is doubtful if the Communists will leave this process incomplete. The Communists themselves recognize that "Religious Taoism" is dead. In 1949, when bidding for the support of religious groups, they invited representatives of Buddhism, Protestantism, and Islam to the People's Political Consultative Conference but no representative of Taoism.[25]

Folk Taoism in the present study includes all of the local cults and practices that have, for millenia, been characteristic of the villages of China. Organized Taoism in many respects simply magnified

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23. Ibid., p. 152.
24. Shina mondai jiten [Encyclopedia of China Problems], Tokyo, 1942, pp. 416-17.
25. Chan, op. cit., p. 146.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF14 Central China AF14

and encompassed a wide variety of folk cults, giving this amalgam some of the trappings of an organized "religion." Folk Taoism, like organized Taoism, has been in a long slow decline. The gods of its pantheon have been increasingly neglected; the shrines and temples in the towns and villages have fallen into neglect. The arrival of modern school teachers, the appearance, even occasional, of effective modern doctors have steadily undermined belief in the efficacy of magic, alchemy, and charms. The City God, tutelary deity of an urban center, is no longer enshrined and worshipped; in many villages the god of grain no longer has his altar.[26] One sample survey showed that in the early 1930's, 58 per cent of the folk shrines were no longer being used for their original purpose;[27] the decline in the last twenty-five years has been accelerated.

In the case of folk Taoism, the Communists have moved to bring to an end a complex of ancient practices that had long been dying out. Their method has been a campaign against superstition, a campaign carried out with all of the many devices of propaganda and pressure which are described elsewhere in this handbook. It may be sufficient here to point out a few typical methods of attack on folk religion. In a rhymed indoctrination text for women

26. Cf. Chan, op. cit., p. 145.

27. C. S. Braden, Modern Tendencies in World Religions, New York, 1933, p. 113, as cited in Chan, op. cit., p. 145.

we find exhortations to stay away from local witch doctors and, when ill, to consult a physician. And women are warned not to believe in prayer to the images of some divinity, "for these are only of mud and lacquer."[28] At all levels of education and in the annual cycles of "campaigns," such as the Patriotic Hygiene Movement, and the Resist-America-Aid-Korea Movement, reference is made to the false and debilitating character of the old beliefs, which are held to be "feudal," "unscientific," "reactionary," etc. It is doubtful that the remnants of folk religion -- in recent years the resort only of the aged and the ignorant -- will long survive the campaigns being waged against them.

Another Taoist-linked institution is the secret society, which has played a major role in modern Chinese politics. Most secret societies draw their rituals, liturgies, and patron deities from religious and folk Taoism, but their purpose is not in most cases primarily religious; rather, as is noted in the chapter on customs and characteristic ways of life, they provide various kinds of insurance in times of chaos, and their tightly knit memberships in recent times have often influenced both local and national politics. The Communists have been conducting an all-out drive for the liquidation of secret societies. At the end of a major drive in 1953, P'eng Chen reported that "four million duped members had withdrawn from these reactionary sects and societies and that the battle was essentially won."[29] That

28. Fu-nü San-Tzu Ching [Three-Character Classic For Women], Shanghai, Hsin-hua, 1950, passim.

29. NCNA dispatch of Sept. 18, 1953, quoted in Walker, China Under Communism, p. 189.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF14 Central China AF14

3. San-tien, San-ho, T'ien-ti or T'ien-li, the Triad Society. It originated in Fukien and spread to Kwangtung and Kwangsi. Strong among overseas Chinese. Known in the United States as Chih-kung Tong.[33]

4. Ko-lao-hui, the Society of the Elders, also an offshoot of the White Lotus Society, is somewhat more religious than the others; the "most extensive, well organized, and influential of China's secret societies."[34] Centers of strength were Central, North, and West China.

IV. MOHAMMEDANISM

This religion was introduced into China by immigrants arriving overland from the west and northwest and by sea to Canton; they have since spread until there are some in every province, although the highest concentration is in the northwest and southwest. Since their ancestors were immigrants, the Mohammedans have been treated by Chinese governments as both an ethnic minority and a religious group. (Hence, cf. the chapter on Ethnic Minorities.). Adherents have tended to live in separate communities, their mores and customs governed by religious law rather than by the laws and customs of China. Not only did Islam prescribe

33. Chan, op. cit., pp. 259-60.
34. Ibid., pp. 160-61.

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for the believer a different way of life from that of the Chinese, it also had international connections and a tradition of militancy. These aspects of Mohammedanism made their communities in China the object of government distrust, and governments in modern times have alternated between policies of suppression and of appeasement.

The Chinese Mohammedan is set apart from other Chinese by such special customs and observances as these: many greetings are exchanged in Arabic or Persian; believers wear white headdresses resembling turbans; they abstain from alcohol and pork; marriage and funeral rites are unlike those of the Chinese, e.g. they do not use coffins in burial. Traditionally, they seldom engage in farming but rather in certain occupations which in some areas they virtually monopolize: keeping inns and organizing caravans, butchering, leather working, metal work, or managing shops which deal in curios and jewelry. Because of oppression and a strong sense of religious community, they tend to live in special districts or streets. They have been more inclined towards athletics and military careers than the Chinese.[35]

The Moslem sector of a city or the Moslem village community centers on its mosque presided over by its Imam, usually elected from among

35. Chan, op. cit., p. 6; Encyclopedia of China Problems, pp. 421-22.

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senior leaders; the Imam and the elders invite an Ahung who preaches, settles disputes, interprets Islamic law, and presides at ceremonies.[36] The Ahung was usually versed in Arabic, although until very recently few had any direct contact with major centers of Islam in the Near East.

In the Central-South Region, Mohammedan communities are found in all provinces. But the major centers, now recognized by the Communists as "Autonomous Areas," lie in the northwest and in Central Asia. The following table[37] of believers and religious establishments (probably mosques) give some indication of their distribution throughout the region, as of 1938. However the source of these figures gives the total number of Moslems in China as more than 48,000,000, a figure that some scholars think is far too high.[38]

36. Chan, op. cit., p. 189; Encyclopedia of China Problems, pp. 421-22.

37. Chung-kuo Nien Chien [Chinese Yearbook], 1948, pp. 126-27.

38. Cf. the admirable summary of the statistical argument in Chan, op. cit., pp. 187-88. Chan, p. 188, note 12, cites the leading Chinese Mohammadan scholar Pai Shou-i's estimate of between 30 and 40 million Moslems in China. The picture publication Chinese Moslems, Peking, the Foreign Languages Press, 1955, gives the figure 10 million.

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Province	Mosques	Adherents
Honan	2,703	3,094,800
Hupeh	1,134	1,587,080
Hunan	932	1,302,900
Kiangsi	205	286,590
Kwangtung	201	558,450
Kwangsi	429	280,180

Islam in modern times has manifested some of the tendencies which Buddhism showed under the impact of various modernizing forces. One of these was the tendency for lay leaders to rise in influence over the Ahung. Another was the foundation of a Chinese Islamic Association in 1912 to represent the interests of all Chinese Moslems, to work for social reform, and to foster closer relations between Moslems and non-Moslems. It claimed 3,000 branches by 1923. Its successors participated in the resistance against Japan, sponsored students abroad and the importation of modern scholars of the Koran from other countries, and developed young men's associations and medical services.[39] The total effect of this activity was to foster a trend to liberality and modernity. It served also to identify the Chinese Moslems with the national aspirations of other Chinese.

As the Chinese Moslems came out of isolation and into contact with the rest of Islam and with

39. Cf. Chan, op. cit., pp. 190-91.

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modern culture generally, there was a considerable difference of view as to the perpetuation of Islam in China. Visits to Mecca in the 1780's had impressed some Chinese Moslems with how far, in their long isolation, they had diverged from orthodox practices. This experience led to the foundation of the New Sect, which stressed return to pure and orthodox Islamic practices. They were resisted by the Old Sect, which favored holding to the customary ways developed in China through the centuries. A new New Sect (Tsan-hsin chiao) was founded by Ma Fu-ch'u (1794-1874), and this sect, emphasizing religious ethics, the spirit rather than the letter of scripture, and modernism in dress, has recently been strong along the coast of China and has spread to modern cultural centers.[40]

Chinese Mohammedans in the course of the modernist movement, accepted the Chinese translation of the Koran, hitherto only in the sacred language of Arabic, and opened schools which taught general as well as religious subjects. And they began, like modernists of other faiths to emphasize the compatability between the Koran and modern science.[41] They published modern periodicals, of which there were nine in 1947; circulation, however, was small. In 1936 the first Chinese Moslem to be so honored received a degree from El Azhar University, the great center of Islamic learning in Cairo. By 1950 the Chinese Islamic Association

40. Chan, op. cit., pp. 192-94.
41. Chan, op. cit., p. 198.

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had set up or co-ordinated two-hundred primary schools and twenty high schools; the Islamic Theological College at the Chungking mosque was opened in 1945. All of these institutions, however, were handicapped by the poverty of the Chinese Moslem community and by suspicion of Chinese learning born of religious conservatism.[42]

What have been Chinese Communist policies towards the problem of Chinese Islam, a problem that involves some areas where they are a major segment of the population and other areas -- such as the Central-South Region -- where they represent a cohesive, slowly modernizing religious community? (The policies adopted towards major centers of Moslem population, are dealt with in the chapter on Ethnic Minorities.) Communist religious policies toward Mohammedanism have something in common with Communist policies toward other religions. The standard pattern of organization has been established by the Peking government: an All-China Islamic Association which, it should be emphasized, differs from former organizations in being an instrument of control over Chinese Mohammedans operated by a hierarchy ideologically acceptable to the Communists. A Peking propaganda booklet issued in 1955 states that, "The work of education is really tackled seriously now, and the number of primary

42. Chan, op. cit., pp. 198-205.

and secondary school pupils is now double the figure before liberation."[43] This may sound like "progress," but what it undoubtedly means is that the children of Chinese Moslems are increasingly being given the prescribed Communist education.

The cadre is the basic instrument for the Communization of Chinese Islam. Offering the education and prestige inducements of Party work has apparently successfully recruited cadres from among young Chinese Moslems. "In the government organs there have been many Moslem cadres. Some of them have taken up the leadership jobs. In the areas where the Moslems have been comparatively concentrated, the government has paid attention to foster the basic-level Moslem cadres."[44]

The policy of Communization is well reflected in a speech by Ma Sung-t'ing, Vice Chairman of the Chinese Moslem Cultural Association, on the occasion of the "Second Enlarged Conference" in June 1955. This conference, he said,

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43. Chinese Moslems. A NCNA dispatch dated June 9, 1955, states that Moslem students in Shanghai have increased from 290 in 1949 to 3,000. Government subsidies (and control) might account for this. SCMP, 1068, June 14, 1955, p. 35.

44. SCMP, 1068, June 14, 1955, p. 35.

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"...will study how to help the government to carry out the ideological education in patriotism, national unity, and Socialist transformation among the Moslems, so as to further strengthen and consolidate national unity and continue to develop and raise the Moslem political, economic, and cultural levels in jointly carrying out the construction of the fatherland."[45]

The Chinese Communists' policy toward the Moslems has been affected by two factors which do not influence their policies towards other religions: (1) the Russian pattern of handling integrated minority groups through various types of "culturally autonomous" organizations; (2) Chinese ambitions in Islamic areas of Asia, which foster tactical tolerance towards the Islamic minority in China. Thus the glamorized picture publication Chinese Moslems has texts in English, Chinese, Arabic, and Indonesian, and its introduction ends with the greeting "Salaam to all peace-loving Moslems."[46] There are reports of special food arrangements for Mohammedan communities, especially in Ramadan. Selections from the works

45. NCNA dispatch, SCMP, 1067, June 11-13, 1955, p. 24.

46. Chinese Moslems.

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of Mao Tse-tung have been translated into Arabic for the indoctrination of the Ahungs who do not know Chinese; one suspects that these translations will also find their way overseas to Indonesia and other countries where Arabic is a sacred lingua-franca. Mosques in "show" cities have been renovated and serve to demonstrate to visitors the "reality" of Communist China's promise of religious freedom. 779 668

We have little information on the fate of Islamic establishments and clergy and adherents in the Central-South Region. Without the relative safety in numbers offered by the large communities in the Southwest and Northwest, and without the need -- save perhaps in Canton -- to make a good impression on visitors, the process of Communization, secularization, and integration are probably advancing rapidly in Central-South China. The Chinese Moslems have shown more cohesive and more steadfast resistance to government pressures than any other religious group; their resistance to assimiliation in Russia has been, in some areas, striking. The great question is whether the Moslem cadre, backed by the full force and apparatus of the Communist government, with appeals to nationalism and anti-imperialism in his sausive arsenal, will have more success than the policies of previous governments. Our guess is that he will.

V. CATHOLICISM

The older of the two Christian faiths in China has had 350 years of missionary and organizational 779 797

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experience. It is, in China as elsewhere, resourceful, flexible, and highly disciplined. In modern China, Catholicism has repeatedly come under nationalistic attack because of its foreign support and its allegiance to Rome. The church has countered these attacks in a variety of ways: it has encouraged the Sinicization of Church symbols, e.g., the Virgin is portrayed as a Chinese woman in Chinese dress; it has given its foreign missionaries a more thorough grounding in Chinese language and culture, so that the best of them, wearing Chinese scholars' gowns as habits and speaking excellent Chinese, can make their way successfully in any stratum of Chinese society. The most striking response to nationalistic attacks has been the increasing use of Chinese priests throughout the hierarchy. This is part of world-wide policies in an age of rising nationalism. The following figures indicate the dimensions of the change since 1900:[47]

Catholicism in China

	Chinese Catholics	Foreign Priests	Native Priests
1900	700,000	1,375	471
1948	3,275,000	3,015	2,676

This process of replacing foreign clergy with Chinese clergy has made greatest progress in the

47. Jean Monsterleet, S. J., Les Martyrs de Chine parlent: L'Empire du Mao Tse-toung contre l'Eglise du Christ, Paris, 1953, p. 32; hereinafter cited as Monsterleet.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF14 Central China AF14

older Catholic areas, particularly in North China. There are 144 dioceses or apostolic prefectures, and 29 of these, in the major cultural and commercial centers, are administered by Chinese prelates.[48] The elevation of a Chinese priest to the College of Cardinals in 1946 was a striking symbol of the Church's intention to advance the process of Sinicization.

Catholic cultural and educational activities have played an important role in the advance of the Church. Schools, colleges, and universities have, on the one hand, made it possible for the youth of Chinese Catholic families to have a complete modern education under Church auspices and control; on the other, the colleges and universities have given the clergy a chance to win over non-Catholic youth enrolled as students. Catholic scientific and cultural research, such as that carried on at the famous ZiKawei Observatory near Shanghai, make it clear that the Church and modern science are not in direct opposition to one another.

The situation in 1945-46 was encouraging to Chinese and foreign Catholics. The clergy was being rapidly Sinicized, charitable work was going forward, Catholic educational institutions were full. Native and foreign clergy had gained approval for their work in the war of resistance against Japan. At the same time there were developments which, especially in the light of later events, promised

48. Ibid.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF14 Central China AF14

trouble to the Church. The exchange of envoys between the Vatican and the Nationalist government took place in 1946; Bishop Paul Yü-pin was widely believed to have strong influence with Generalissimo Chiang; these and other signs of identification of the Catholic Church with the Nationalist Government boded ill for the Church when the government declined in power. As the Communist power increased, the persecution of the Church, begun in Communist areas in 1937, was a grim warning of what might be in store for Chinese Catholicism as a whole.[49] Catholic Action, the association of enthusiastic laymen for the advancement of the Faith, had been growing in all parts of the country from 1928 onward; there were two-hundred groups and thirty youth groups as early as 1930.[50] In 1948 the Papal Nuncio ordered the formation of the Legion of Mary, a more militant, zealous, and disciplined organization of Catholic laymen, which in many areas absorbed the Catholic Action groups. The new organization was set up by an American priest, and it had the Chinese name of Sheng-mu chün (Army, or Legion, of Mary). Many experienced Catholic missionaries were doubtful if any strong Chinese government would tolerate this type of militant organization. The group has proved of major propaganda value to the Communists and an object

49. Cf. Raymonde de Jaegher and I. Corbally Kuhn, Tempete sur la Chine, Paris, 1953.
50. Monsterleet, p. 148.

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their deities change and are forgotten. Temples decay, cities are ruined, tombs desecrated and the names of states vanish or linger on in villages and literary titles. So also the fate of the gods changes; they flourish and are abandoned by their worshippers. If they represent some permanent force of nature they are revived with different names. Even a god may not control his destiny.

Polytheism is the natural result of an attempt to personify the phenomena of nature. A mountain is not a river and if both are to have spirits connected with them, it is much more consistent to have two spirits than to have one. Sometimes the forces appear actually antagonistic, as fire and water. Similarly, one city cannot be identified with another, and the shoemakers would prefer a different patron from the barbers. Shang Ti may be inclusive in the sense that heaven covers all below, but he is not and can hardly be exclusive, in the sense that there is no other god. The same is true of the combination Heaven-Earth, whetner that is monotheistic, according to Legge, or dualistic, as De Groot thinks. An attempt to describe nature in terms of purpose may consistently end in a multitude of gods, or at most in henotheism. It is unlikely, to put the matter mildly, that any Chinese, no matter how strong his feeling for Shanq Ti[1] ever denied the existence of lesser gods — except of course pure materialists or the followers of some foreign religion like Christianity or Islam. That is, the religion of the Chinese people was never monotheistic. The emperor worshipped Shang Ti, but the people worshipped and propitiated the multitude of forces, variant, opposed, beneficent or harmful, which confront man in his daily life, and these forces appear, not as one, but as many personalities.

Two factors determine the popularity of a nature god, the need for what he gives, and the uncertainty of his giving it. Men need air, but there is no god of air, because it can always be obtained without supernatural aid. It is not so with rain, and the cult of the rain god is universal. The popularity of other gods is not always so easy to explain, for instance, the God of War, who is universally worshipped by a peace loving people, possibly because he is the hero of the most popular Chinese novel, " The Three Kingdoms "

1 [Errata: Should be Shang. Cf. Errata Sheet, p. 204, cat. 11 — Analyst]

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these gods may become angry because of neglect or a lack of virtue among the people and officials, their general attitude is beneficent.

These gods may be divided into six classes.

1. The gods of localities, such as the T'u Ti, or Earth Gods.
2. Gods of natural forces, such as fire and rain.
3. Gods of artificial processes, like weaving and carpentry.
4. Deified heroes.
5. Gods of political and social units, like the Fu and Hsien " Wall and Moat " Gods.
6. Gods who represent general ideas, such as war, literature and happiness.

These classes are not mutually exclusive, so that a famous general may be the god of war or a great writer the god of literature. And it may be said that when a man has become conspicuous for certain abilities or virtues during his life, he is apt to be worshipped as the god of those qualities in the abstract after his death. As was said before, a large majority in the Chinese pantheon were once human individuals. The most frequent petition seems to be for offspring. In general, any unit, social, political and natural, has a god as the symbol of the uniting force. They are often regarded as the ancestors of their followers, as Lo Tsu is the ancestor of the barbers, (GAMBLE, *Peking Social Survey*, p. 434), and they are the source of the peculiar blessings and arts of which they are the personification.

The introduction to Section 9 of the Huailing Hsien Chih,[1] on temples, gives a good idea of the attitude of educated Chinese toward religion.

" Concerning sacrifices.

" It is impossible to explain why people say that there are gods and devils, but we know that virtuous kings established sacrifices. Those who have given good laws to the people ought to have sacrifices offered to them. Those who have loved their country all their lives should be worshipped. So also those who have prevented danger and trouble, whether from nature or from men. These things are unchangeable forever. *(Li Ki*, Bk. 20, Sect. 9).

" It is necessary that a city should have a governor; the men who fill

1 [Errata: should be Chih. Cf. Errata sheet, p. 204, cat. 116 -- Analyst]

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778 Temple of the God of Thunder, (Lei Tzu Miao), — Cooks', Confectioners' and Shoemakers' Gilds.

441 The Hsun Yang Tao Yuen, whose god is Li Lao Chun or Lao Tzi, —
776 Silver and Copper Smiths' Gilds. There is also an association called the Central City Merchants' Gild which meets there.

Hsien Yuen Miao, whose god is Huang Ti, the Yellow Emperor. This temple is owned by the Tailors' Gild and no one else worships there.

Lu Pan Miao, — Carpenters', Painters', Plasterers' and other Gilds of the building trade.

Ho Shen Tsi, — Gild of Barbers' Apprentices, a recently formed gild.

Temple of the God of Medicine, (Yo Wang Miao), — Doctors' and Medicine Dealers' Gilds.

Lung Wang Miao — Water Carriers' Gild.

● 779 When one attempts to classify the temples of Anking difficulties arise. The usual treatment of Chinese religion, taken from Chinese sources it is true, is to divide everything religious between Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism. Confucianism has generally included ancestor worship and the state or official religion; Buddhism seems to be fairly definite, at least in so far as the god, book or custom may be traced to India, and everything that is left is called Taoism. It is obvious that much of this remainder has little or no connection with anything that can be traced to Lao Tzi or his spiritual descendants, but we blanket the whole by saying that Taoism has degenerated and is now covered by a mass of superstition.

776 Of course it is a matter of definition, but I believe that after deducting
779 certain deities that are undeniably Taoist, like P'an Ku and Yu Huang Shang Ti, there remain a large number of gods whose cults it is better to treat individually and not as parts of any religion. For instance, take the City-God. He is part of the state religion, which is Confucian, in some respects, because the officials formerly reported regularly to him as they did to the emperor, and from the most ancient times it has been the custom for provincial officials to worship local deities. His temple shows Buddhist influences derived through Taoism in the Ten Hells of Yen Lo (Yama), and he is often men-

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tioned as a Taoist god. Yet he is more than all this; he is the personification of the city, and of the loyalty of the people to the place in which they live. In reality he does not owe his origin to any of the Three Religions, but if he must be classed under any religion, it should be animism. This lumping of all the gods together has resulted in the neglect of them individually by many scholars.

The Huai Ling Hsien Chih does not classify any of the temples as Buddhist, Taoist or Confucian. It might be supposed that this was because everyone knew which was which, but in the majority of cases this is not true. Again and again I have inquired of the most responsible persons I could find on the premises whether a temple was Buddhist or Taoist, and seldom could I get a clear answer. The temple is considered to belong to a certain god, not to an organized religion of which the god is a part.

In Buddhism we find a more or less definite and well arranged system of deities, who meet together under their leaders and discuss matters of general import, much as the Trojan War was debated by the Greek gods. The Taoists have imitated the Buddhists in this, as in other things, and in the Feng Shen Pan, a Taoist romance, for instance, the chief Taoist divinity holds a levee and appoints minor gods to their various positions. I do not believe, however, that this represents the real attitude of the Chinese toward their indigenous deities. As in Greek religion, Homer might write of celestial meetings presided over by Zeus, but in practice, when a man worshipped at Delphi, it was not the occupant of a chair upon Olympus in consultation with Ares, Athena and other equals. His mind was filled with the thought of Apollo, and of Apollo only. The native Chinese gods struggling with foreign faiths, have never developed as far toward henotheism as did the Greeks. The Fire-God and the Rain-God and the City-God are not members of a heavenly association which meets more or less regularly at the call of its chairman. On the contrary the cults are separate, even as the natural forces and objects which the gods represent are separate; separate in origin and in the minds of their devotees, though speculation may occasionally connect them in fanciful stories.

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THE STATE TEMPLES

The ancient books of ritual give detailed accounts of state worship, which have served as models until the present day. The *Li Ki*, Book 20, Sect. 3, is translated by Legge as follows:

" He by whom all under the sky was held (the emperor), sacrificed to all spirits. The princes of states sacrificed to those which were in their own territories; to those which were not in their own territories, they did not sacrifice. "

The religious idea behind these words, an idea stated even more clearly by Confucius in his famous remark that a man should not worship a spirit that did not belong to him (Analects), is that nature being personified, a man should worship the gods behind those forces with which he came in contact, and that to worship other gods was wrong. Applied to the state, it meant that the emperor and his officials, or in ancient China, the feudal princes, should worship the forces, or rather the gods behind them, who affected the people they represented and governed, the emperor worshipping all spirits, the nobles those only which were in their own territories.

This is the principle upon which the state religion has always been conducted, and after the passing of the feudal system, the provincial officials who took the place of the nobles at the founding of the T'ang dynasty (618), sacrificed to the local divinities within their jurisdiction. But while the principle is ancient, and prominent geographical features like mountains and streams have always had their gods and received worship, the nature cults

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of the present day probably do not long antedate the T'angs, at least in their modern form.

A few of these cults will be treated in the last section of this paper. The officials sacrificed in their official capacity to the City-God, the Lung Wang, the Pa Chia and others at appropriate times as part of their recognized duty, and this worship might be said to be a part of the state religion. I have not included it in this section, however, because the temples of the local gods do not belong to the state, nor is the government responsible for their support, and so I prefer to treat them separately.

But there are two cults which may be said to belong peculiarly to the state and its officials, past, present and expectant. Their temples are found in every Chinese city, and in Anking they are supported by the public money, not, as other temples, by private subscriptions. These two cults correspond to the civil and military divisions of the government. In these temples the great national leaders of peace and war are worshipped twice a year, in the spring and fall, by the highest civil and military official, respectively, of the district. The dates of these sacrifices appear to be the only religious events, if they are to be called religious, which are given on the ordinary Chinese calendar at present.

These state temples do not usually contain images, but this rule is not absolute, especially in the case of the God of War. The objects worshipped are the name tablets, called P'ai Wei, which are very like those found in ancestral temples. It is usual to consider these temples as belonging to the men who occupy the chief place in them, but it would be better to consider these men rather as the supreme representatives of the virtues expected in the officials of the two branches of the government, virtues which have been shared, in lesser degree, by many others whose tablets are also worshipped. The temples are known as the Wen Miao and the Wu Miao, or the civil and military temples. The place of honor in the first is given to Confucius; in the second, it is divided between Kuan Kung and Yo Fei.

It must be remembered that the worship of Confucius and Kuan Kung is not confined to the state temples. This is especially true of the latter,

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whose temples are found everywhere, and who is worshipped as a god of literature and riches (Dore, vol. VI, art. 4) besides being the patron saint of several provinces. 717 718

Moreover, the positions of Confucius and Kuan Kung are different. The former is usually considered as the perfect man, while the latter is a god in full standing, and usually has the word Ti, the sign of divinity, added to his name. Both were historical characters and the facts of their lives are well known. 794

In a brief account it is not possible to go into the list of names commemorated in the Wen Miao, nor is it necessary, for it has already been done by Watters, but we can consider the cult of Confucius as a part of the state religion in the provinces, even though most of the facts are familiar.

A. — Confucius and the Wen Miao.

Confucius is the form in which the early Jesuits latinized the words K'ung Fu Tzi, or K'ung the Master. His personal name was Ch'iu, but being taboo, it is never pronounced, while in writing the character a stroke is omitted. He was born in 551 B. C. and died in 479 B. C. In his day the Chou dynasty was declining and the power lay with the feudal lords. Confucius became a minister to the prince of his native state, Lu, which would form a part of the modern Shangtung. His reforms and the uprightness of his character soon forced his resignation, and he spent the rest of his life wandering from state to state with his disciples, and editing the works which have become the classics of China. It does not seem that he himself wrote more than the Spring and Autumn Annals and some appendices to the Book of Changes. There are many accounts of his life in English. The few facts I have given are taken from Giles *(Biog. Dict.*, K'ung Chiu). 82 769

As to the position Confucius holds in the hearts of his countrymen, the words of the great historian, Szi Ma Ch'ien, are as true today as when they were written eighteen centuries ago.

" Countless are the princes and prophets that the world has seen in its

司 [Errata: should be Szi-ma. Cf. Errata sheet, p. 204, cat. 116--Analyst]

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BUDDHIST TEMPLES

It is probable that no eastern religion has been more thoroughly investigated by western scholars than Buddhism, and a volume might be devoted merely to a bibliography upon the subject. Yet the literature in English and other European languages is nothing compared to the volumes of Chinese books, not to mention those in other Asiatic tongues. The work which might be done in the investigation of Buddhism is endless. In this brief essay, then, I shall do no more than give a rough sketch of the two representative Buddhist temples in Anking, which will enable me to mention the most characteristic gods of the Chinese form of Mahayana Buddhism.

The Huai Ling Hsien Chih mentions forty-five temples which may be definitely classified as Buddhist because in them are the images of unmistakably Hindu gods. For it should be remembered that while Chinese Buddhism will place the image of almost any deity in its temples, the place of honor is always reserved for the foreign gods. I do not think it correct to call any temple Buddhist which does not have Hindu deities present, even though Buddhist monks are employed as caretakers, as is frequently the case in non-Buddhist temples. These forty-five temples are nearly all refered to as Tzi or An, and as nearly as I can discover, twenty-five are under the care of monks (Ho Shan), and twenty of nuns (Ni Ku). Although the number of temples is large, only two are of any size, the Yin Chiang Tzi and the Ti Tsang An. The others are small, one-room buildings, often very difficult to

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find, mixed up with non-Buddhist cults like those of " Earth Gods ", frequently the property of some wealthy family who use the place as a sort of private chapel. It is likely that the solitary monk or nun in charge of one of these little shrines is supported largely by the offerings of women praying for sons, for men are infrequent visitors. I know a widow who invested her savings by buying a small temple as a business proposition, living thereafter on the income from incense, oil and gifts. The chief income of the monks in the larger temples appears to come from the masses for the dead, and in the great halls are monthly schedules and appointments for such services, with a price list. When a man of moderate means will pay five or six hundred dollars for the funeral of a parent or grandparent, a good part of which would go to the monks, it can be seen that the pious work is remunerative. Nuns may also read the sutras and say masses, but the usual custom is to send for monks. It is frequently said by foreigners that the monks are ignorant and have little or no education. This is true, perhaps, of the majority, but at the Yin Chiang Tzi and the Ti Tsang An monasteries there are very well read and cultivated men. A monk at the former place estimated that there are about one hundred and fifteen Ho Shan in Anking, and I should guess that there are not more than thirty Ni Ku.

Ho Shan have secured control of a number of temples whose gods are distinctly not Buddhist, and have erected their own shrines behind the main halls. Among these are the T'eh Fu An, the Yo Wang Miao and the Ho Shen Miao. These temples will be considered in the sixth class, and here we will mention only the two chief Buddhist monasteries

The Yin Chiang Tzi is a large temple and monastery, containing about eighty monks, located on the north bank of the Yangtze a little outside the East Gate of the city, and contains within its walls the beautiful pagoda familiar to all who travel between Hankow and Shanghai. The monastery belongs to the Ch'an, or Meditative School, and is therefore typical of the majority of Buddhist temples in China.

It should be born in mind, however, that these schools are not distinct or opposed in the way that Protestantism and Catholicism are, for instance.

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Monks pass from one monastery to another, and there are no disputes and religious conflicts between them. Their differences are regarded merely as different ways, all good, of achieving the same end.

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The following paragraphs from the Hsien Chih give a brief outline of the temple's history. The pagoda seems to have been sufficiently solid to have resisted the destructive powers of the T'aip'ings.

" The pagoda was built by an Anking man, Yuen Tzi Hua, in the reign of Ming Wan Li (1573-1620). The emperor himself wrote an inscription of six characters for the temple, " Hu Kuo Yun Ch'an Shan Tzi " (To protect the country and keep it in eternal prosperity). The people built a pavilion (Shen Han Lu), to house this inscription. In the 7th year of Shun Chih 1651), an official rebuilt it, and in the 2nd year of K'ang Hsi (1664), it wasl repaired. Ch'ien Lung presented a Pien, " Shan Szi Tzi Kung " (A voice (ike the lion's roar), and during the reign of Kuang Hsu, the empress dowager, Tsi Hsi, gave another, " Miao Ming Yuen Chin ", (Reflecting light like a mirror).

" The monks gathered contributions and built a library (Tsan Chin Ko), to the east of the temple, which contained many Buddhist books and famous paintings. The best known book was a copy of the Lotus Sutra (Miao Fah Lien Hua Ching), and there was a painting in gold leaf, made in the 7th year of Ming Hsien Hua (1472 ?).

" On the north and west, Anking is surrounded by impressive mountains, while the Yangtze River flows on the east and south. Those who search out favorable locations for graves (P'ing Yien Hsin Chia), said that there should be a pagoda erected in this place, to complete the favorable influences. The mountains seem like the body of a dragon, and the pagoda would make it appear as if the head were lifted up, which would be auspicious. In the year of Ken Wu of Ming Lung Ch'in (1567-1573), an official consulted with the people and built the pagoda. (This conflicts slightly with a previous statement). It was 240 feet high, built of stone, with seven stories. There were balconies at each story, and golden bells were hung from the corners of the roof.

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In the center of the hall is a platform divided by a screen. Facing the entrance is the image of Mi Leh (Sanscrit, Maitreya), whose form is probably more familiar to foreigners than that of any other Chinese god. He is a very fat man, with shaved head and huge, bare stomach, sitting with one knee raised. He is always represented laughing, and in temples his image is gilded (DORÉ, vol. VI, p. 103, f). The Chinese usually refer to him as a Fu (Buddha), but strictly speaking he is a P'usa (Bodhisattva), who waits in heaven until the time for his next incarnation as a man, when he will become a Buddha proper. A Bodhisattva is one who has reached complete enlightenment, but rejects Buddhahood in order that he may minister to his fellow men. However, the Chinese use the technical Buddhist terms very loosely, and P'usa is commonly used for any image, Buddhist or otherwise.

On the other side of the screen, facing the court, is the most picturesque of Buddhist divinities, Wei T'o, who is represented in full golden armour, with draperies flying from his shoulders and hand on sword. He is the knight of heaven, commander of the celestial hosts under the four kings, and he is the special protector of monasteries. In this capacity he is worshipped when the monastery is in need of funds, and begging monks carry his image strapped on their backs. In images used for this purpose, the sword is absent and the hands are pressed together in prayer (DORÉ, vol. VII, p. 317 *f*). In his zeal for righteousness, Wei T'o is apt to be too severe and strike down the guilty sinner without giving him a chance for repentence. Therefore, he is placed so that he looks across the court and through the doorway of the second hall, gazing always upon the face of the compassionate Buddha.

There is an admirable study of Wei T'o by M. Noel Peri in the *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient*, vol. 110.

The second hall represents the more advanced stages on the road to Buddhahood. Over the entrance are the words nearly always used in Buddhist temples, " Ta Hsiung Pao Tien " (Precious Hall of the Great Hero). This hall may contain the images of any number of indigenous gods like Kuan Ti, and Brahmanic deities like Fan (Brahma himself), and Yu Ti (Indra), who

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346 778 776 779 is sometimes confused with another god having a very similar name, who may also be present, the Taoist Yu Huang Ti (Pearly Emperor). But these divinities are shown as worshipping or attending the Hindu Buddhist gods. Indeed, it is difficult to say exactly whom the smaller images in the great hall of a temple represent, for the monks themselves often do not know. I have not found Brahma or Indra in any Anking temple (Doré, vol. VII, p. 324 *f.*).

Against the side walls of the main hall are the eighteen Lo Han (Arhats), nine on each side. In Hinayana Buddhism the Arhat, or saint, was the highest state a man could reach before becoming a Buddha, but in the Mahayana it is inferior to the Bodhisattva. There are various lists of Lo Han, and the oldest contain but sixteen names. The first list of eighteen appears to be that of the T'ang poet and painter, Kuan Hsiu (832-912). The names vary in different accounts and have never been exactly determined, for although the emperor Ch'ien Lung in 1757 endeavored to settle the matter, his arrangement has never been generally accepted. The number eighteen seems to be of Chinese origin, but it also occurs in Tibetan lists. It seems to me that the reason for the two added names may lie in I Tsing's account of the eighteen schools of Buddhism (*Records of Buddhist Religion*, p. 14). He visited India in 617, and says that the division into schools took place after the death of Asoka (about 230 B. C.). It may have been felt that the number eighteen was more appropriate because of the eighteen schools of thought. The most familiar name in the lists is that of Rahula, the son of Sakyamuni, who is the patron of novices. Adequate accounts of these Lo Han are given in Watters' "The Eighteen Lohan of Chinese Buddhist Temples", and in Doré (vol. VII, p. 350 *f*). Some temples have twenty-four deva kings in place of the Lo Han, but this variation does not occur in Anking.

The lines of Lo Han end at the rear wall, and next them are two altars which are usually dedicated to the four great Bodhisattvas of Chinese Buddhism, Kuanyin, Ti T'ang, Wen Shu and P'u Hsien. At Yin Chiang Tzi the arrangement is a little different, Kuanyin and Ti Tsang being omitted.

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On the west are Wen Shu and an image which seems to represent Ta Mo (Bodhidharma), the twenty-eighth Indian patriarch, who came to China in 520, and is recognized as the first Chinese patriarch (EITEL, *Handbook of Chinese Buddhism*, p. 33). Kuanyin and Ti Tsang appear in other parts of the monastery, but are absent from the temple proper. Bodhisattvas always wear lotus hats, and are usually gilded.

The place of honor in the great hall is held by three huge images, exactly alike, of Buddhas (Chinese, Fu). They are gilded, expressionless, sitting in the attitude of contemplation, their shaven heads covered with blue snails. Two disciples, Ananda and Kasyapa, wait on the central image. In the Yin Chiang Tzi these figures are enclosed in glass. The figure on the east is the Healing Buddha, Yo Szi Fu (Bhaishajyaguru), that on the west, O Mi T'o (Amitabha), while in the centre is Shih Chia Mo Ni (SAKYAMUNI, *the Historic Buddha*). Sometimes these images are referred to as the Buddhas of the past, present and future. Amitabha is the god of the Western Heaven and has so seized on the imaginations of the Chinese that in all the Buddhist schools the ordinary greeting between monks is " O Mi T'o Fu ", for the mere repetition of the name insures entrance to the heaven. The abstraction of Nirvana is replaced by the more comprehensible and popular Western Heaven. Full descriptions of these Buddhas are given in Doré (vol. VI, chap. III). This triad receives most of the worship offered, and a light is kept burning before their altar. In fact, where this triad is present, the services are nearly always directed to them, though I have seen Wei T'o worshipped, and incense is burned before the other images. The Bodhisattvas are usually worshipped in chapels devoted to them. When there is a door in the rear wall, an image of Kuanyin is placed facing it, standing back to back with the Buddhas with a screen between, but this arrangement is not found in Anking.

In the southeastern corner of the hall is an immense bell associated with Ti Tsang, and in the southwestern, a large drum bearing the Yin and Yang symbol. There are also the usual musical instruments, bells, metal plates, wooden " Fish Head " gongs, and others. Streamers inscribed with

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346 778 776 779 the names of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, prefaced with the words, "Na Mo" (Reverence), and elaborate lanterns, hang from the beams, while prayer mats are arranged in order on the floor. The hall is always full of the odour of incense. Prayers are offered and sutras read fifteen times a day, but I will not attempt to go into the ritual of the various regular and occasional services.

346 778 The Ti Tsang An is a smaller and more recent establishment than the Yin Chiang Tzi, and the Hsien Chih contains practically no information about it. It contains ten monks and no nuns. It is in much better condition than the larger monastery, new and clean, the monks appear more intelligent, and the atmosphere more religious. Its present prosperity is largely due to the generosity of a man named Ho, who is well known in Buddhist circles for his charities. The temple stands beside a lake outside the West Gate, and there is a lovely grove of bamboos behind it on the hillside.

The Ti Tsang An belongs to the Pure Land School (Ching T'u), and the arrangement of images is somewhat different from that at the Yin Chiang Tzi. In the entrance hall behind the image of Maitreya, and overshadowing it, is the patron of the monastery, Ti Tsang, wearing the lotus hat of a Bodhisattva, and attended by two disciples, a father and son, bearing the crozier and jewel associated with him. In the great hall, instead of the three Buddhas, there is the favorite triad of the Pure Land School, Amitabha in the center, flanked by the Bodhisattvas Kuanyin (Avalokitesvara), and Ta Shih Chih (Mahastama), both of whom seem to be men here, though they are usually represented as women. They were men originally. All are standing, with right hands stretched downward, palms outward, in the attitude of saving souls. The other images in the temple present no unusual or interesting features.

776 779 While it is impossible to consider these gods in detail, I should say a few words about the Bodhisattvas. There are in China four mountains of especial holiness to the Buddhist, Wu T'ai in Shansi, O Mei in Szechuan, P'u T'o, an island in the Chusan group off the coast of Chekiang, and Chiu Hua in Anhui. These should not be confused with the five Taoist moun-

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tains to be mentioned later. Each mountain has its patron Bodhisattva, Wen Shu (Manjusri), in Wu T'ai, P'u Hsien (Samantabhadra), in O Mei, Kuan Shih Yin or Kuanyin (Avalokitesvara), in P'u T'o, and Ti Tsang (Kshitigarbha), in Chiu Hua. The last two mountains are dealt with in some detail by Johnston in " Buddhist China ".

It is likely that Kuanyin is more generally popular in China than any other Bodhisattva, but she has attracted an amount of notice from foreigners out of proportion to her relative importance, and the others have been neglected. As a matter of fact, the popularity of different gods varies in different localities, and usually varies inversely as the distance from some famous shrine. Whether it has been the nearness of P'u T'o to the centers of foreign influence and its easy accessibility, or the popularity of the cult of Kuanyin among women, who are more openly religious than men, or the fascinating question, how the god of Tibet became the goddess of China and Japan, it is certain that Kuanyin has been more thoroughly studied than any other Buddhist divinity. Many sinologues have taken their fling at her, and a resume of their work, as well as that of Chinese scholars, may be found in Doré (vol. VI, p. 200 *ff*). The facts seem to be that under the T'angs and before as originally in India, Kuanyin was always a man, while from the Yuen dynasty on she has usually been represented as a woman, though not invariably so. What happened during the Sung period we do not know, and may never discover. What part the Taoist Queen of Heaven (T'ien Hou), the Hindu goddess Hariti, the Chinese princess Miao Shen, and the Son-Giving Mother (Sun Tzi Niang Niang), may have had in the transformation, we cannot say.

Wen Shu and P'u Hsien have their seats too far away to be rivals of Kuanyin, but the nearness of Anking to Chiu Hua Shan (about one hundred miles), makes its patron even more important than the Goddess of Mercy in the city whose temples we are considering.

Ti Tsang is not mentioned at all by Eitel *(Handbook of Chinese Buddhism)*, and Edkins *(Buddhist China)* gives only a brief notice without identifying his Sanscrit name. Richard *(Calendar of the Gods)* confuses him with Yenlo

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(Yama), the king of Hell, in which the author is in error. Sarkar *(Chinese Religion through Hindu Eyes*, p. 286), considers that while the similar meaning of the names identifies Ti Tsang With the Sanscrit Bodhisattva Kshitigarbha, there does not seem to have been any Indian cult of this god, and that his worship is a Chinese development, the only Hindu element being the name. The deity is not mentioned by Huan Tsang (602-624), or I Tsing (634-713), Chinese pilgrims who visited India. He is described by Getty *(Gods of Northern Buddhism*, p. 90). The most detailed accounts I have seen are in Johnston *(Buddhist China*, p. 170 *f)*, and in Doré (vol. VII, p. 235 *f)*. The latter unhesitatingly accepts the identification with Kshitigarbha, and Beal *(Catena of Buddhist Scriptures*, p. 59), also equates the two names. Doré says that the only Chinese source is the Ti Tsang Sutra of the Chinese Buddhist canon, which was in existence at the end of the seventh century, and I do not think has ever been translated, but Johnston (p. 170), gives several other authorities. I should think that the Chiu Hua Shan Chih might cast some light on the subject, but it is possible that Johnston has exhausted that material. There is a detailed monograph on Ti Tsang by Visser in the *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*.

The peculiar function of Ti Tsang is shown by his name, which means King of the Earth's Womb, or Earth Treasure. He is the Bodhisattva who visits hell and redeems suffering souls. It should be remembered that in Buddhism, hell is only an incident, though a poignant one, in the wheel of transmigration, and it does not mean everlasting punishment. Buddhism has eighteen hells, Taoism only ten. Ti Tsang is usually represented with a crozier topped with six rings, and a jewel, at whose light the gates of hell fly open. He is always gilded and usually sitting on a throne, in contrast to Kuanyin, who often stands, and Wen Shu and P'u Hsien, who ride upon a tiger and an elephant, respectively. He is not Yenlo, the ruler of hell, but in Anhui is considered superior to the latter. He leads the rescued souls to the western heaven of Amitabha. As Jizo he is popular in Japan. His birthday is the 30th of the 7th month.

Legend connects him with Chiu Hua Shan through a prince of Korea

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(possibly Siam), who resigned his throne, came to China as a monk about 760, and lived on the mountain. He and at least one other later monk of Chiu Hua are regarded as incarnations of the Bodhisattva (JOHNSTON, p. 211).

In 719 A. D. a Hindu, Amogha Vajra, reached China, and shortly achieved a great reputation at the court in Ch'ang An (EITEL, p. 8, and JOHNSTON, p. 369). He is said to have instituted the festival called Feeding the Hungry Ghosts (Yu Lan Huei, or Yen K'ou), which was fully elaborated about fifty years after Amogha's death. Dr. Reichelt, of Nanking, is of the opinion that Amogha adapted the custom from the masses for the dead said by the Nestorians who then flourished in Ch'ang An. The Ullambana Sutra, which had been translated into Chinese several centuries before, was used in the service. Yu Lan is a transliteration of the Sanscrit Ulamba, to endure great anguish, and Yen K'ou means to fill the hungry mouths. The custom is said to have been started by Sakyamuni, who directed his disciple Maudgalyayana to do it, but Eitel (p. 155), says that this story is a forgery. The Yu Lan Huei is peculiarly associated with Ti Tsang, and the festival is said to last from the 15th of the 7th month to the 30th, which is the birthday of Ti Tsang. The Li Chi indicates that in ancient China wandering spirits were propiated at this season.

The original hungry ghosts were the Hindu Pretas (MONIER WILLIAMS, *Buddhism*, p. 219), but in China they are the spirits of men who have no descendants to woship them, or who have not been buried. Altars to these wandering spirits are mentioned in the classics. The festival includes the reading of the Ti Tsang Sutra by a monk impersonating the Bodhisattva, the sprinkling of grains of rice and water for the ghosts to eat and drink, and the placing of lighted lanterns on the water. When the light is finally extinguished, it is said a water spirit has swallowed it, and been destroyed.

Buddhism has always adopted features of the religions of countries into which it has been introduced, such as the Nat worship of Burmah, and by doing so has strengthened its hold upon the people. So it has been in China. My own opinion is that the cult of Kuanyin owes its popularity largely to

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the deliberate adoption to a Buddhist divinity of the functions of the Chinese goddess who gave sons (Sung Tzi Liang Liang), thus appealing to one of the chief desires of all Chinese. And the prominence of Ti Tsang is due to a similar attraction, for the most fundamental Chinese virtue is filial piety, which includes the worship of ancestors, and the duty of descendants toward them. This duty is accomplished in an attractive way through the Yu Lan Huei. The custom also prevents injury from these spirits.

The authorities I have quoted consider the festival to be of Buddhist origin, but Clennell (*Historical Development of Religion in China*, p. 105), says that the custom is indigenous and merely adopted by the early Buddhists. I am inclined to agree with him. The sacrifices to wandering spirits are mentioned in the Li Chi. The festival is not held in Buddhist temples, but in homes, where tables bearing incense, candles, fruit and tea are placed in the main entrances. The monks are very active saying masses in public halls, for which they are well paid by philanthropic organizations, but the temples themselves are dark. This is especialy noticeable at the Yin Chiang Tzi, which would be an admirable scene for the rite because it fronts on the river. When this absence of ceremony in the temples is combined with the great hold the observance has on all Chinese, most of whom do not go into a Buddhist temple once a year, that in the homes it is not accompanied by any Buddhist practice nor does it require the presence of monks, and that when the monks do go out, it is not to homes, but to public halls where they are invited by corporations, it seems reasonable to suppose that this is another instance where Buddhism has fastened upon some native custom it did not originate, and made the practice its own. However, it is not a matter upon which to be dogmatic. The Hindu custom is also a home rite.

The Yu Lan Huei is the most beautiful of Chinese festivals, and in 1923 I was privileged to see it under particularly favorable circumstances. The cities along the Yangtze River have a number of life saving organizations (Chiu Sen Chu), which provide public ferries, save drowning men when possible, rescue their bodies for burial when nothing else can be done, distribute coffins and medicine to the poor, and engage in other admirable charities.

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TAOIST TEMPLES

It is neither scientific nor accurate to lump everything religious in Chinese civilization which is neither Confucian nor Buddhist under the name of Taoism. For Taoism is as definite a thing as the other two religions, at least, and although, to my knowledge, its history has never been written, it is there for any investigator with the requisite equipment and patience.

The historical descent of Taoism has been traced by Parker *(Studies in Chinese Religion*, p. 132 *f.)*, from Lao Tzi, (about 550 B. C.) through the Fighting States period, with Chuang Tzi, Shen Pu Hai, Yen Yuan, Kuei Ku Tzi, Han Fei and others, to its triumph under the First Emperor (221 B. C.), and its struggle with Confucianism under the early Han emperors. Unfortunately, he ends his account with Huai Nan Tzi (died 122 B. C.), which is shortly before the history of organized Taoism begin.

The founder of the Taoist society was a remarkable man named Chang Tao Ling, who lived at Lung Hu Shan (Dragon Tiger Mountain), in the province of Kiangsi a few days journey south of Nanchang, during the years 34-156 A. D. (GILES, *Biog. Dict.*, p. 43). Although he based his teaching on Lao Tzi, as the Taoists have done ever since, he was, in a very real sense, the founder of the Taoist church, and with one intermission, his descendents, the so-called Taoist popes, have remained at its head until this day. To the philosophical concepts of the " Old Master " and the scientific search for the elixir of life, they have added definitely religious ideas and an organization which still survives.

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779 It seems a pity that European scholars should have spent so much of their time trying to unravel that fascinating, but obscure, work, the Tao Teh Ching, and should have dismissed the religion which lay open before them by calling it a mass of degenerate superstitions and practices borrowed from Buddhism. Even then a few facts concerning its subsequent history have been gathered, some of which I will give.

The Taoists seem to have been concerned in the rebellion of the Yellow Turbans (170 A. D.), which put an end to the Han dynasty (*Encycl. Sin.*, Yellow Turbans). The short dynasties which followed saw the growth of Buddhism, from which Taoism probably borrowed the idea of its trinity and masses for the dead. In 424, the control of the church passed for a time to K'au Hsien Chih, a favorite of the emperor of Northern Wei, and his descendents (LEGGE, *Religions of China*, p. 234). Under the first T'ang emperor (618), Taoism was prohibited for a while, but Ming Huang (713-756), opened colleges for the study of the Taoist philosophers (*Encycl. Sin.*, Taoism), and the cult became so popular that six of the later T'ang emperors died as a result of taking elixirs of life administered by Taoists (CLENNELL, *Historical Development of Chinese Religion*, p. 120). In 1015, the Sung emperor Chen Tsung gave large estates to the Chang family, which they still hold, but under his successor, Jen Tsung (1023-1064), the Taoists were suppressed again, and the great Chu Hsi (1130-1200), thoroughly discredited them (*Encycl. Sin.*, Taoism). Taoists were patronized by Jenghiz Khan, and by Kubilai, who invited the " Pope " to visit him in 1276 and built a Taoist temple in the capital (LEGGE, p. 236). Since then the popes have been patronized by a number of emperors, but there do not seem to have been any striking changes in their fortunes. Under the Manchus, Taoism was classed with Buddhism and Christianity as a heretical sect. The pope is called Chang T'ien Tsi, and he and his family still live at Lung Hu Shan, where there must be records of the greatest value for the study of the religion. T'ien Tsi is usually translated as " Heavenly Teacher ".

So much for the history of Taoism, which I give to show the continuity of the organization, and that it is something more than a conglomerate of

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superstitions. The Taoist society is called the Tao Chiao Huei, and has branches in different parts of the country, most of them acknowledging Chang T'ien Tsi as head, and when one uses the word Taoism applied to the present, it is this society and its doctrines to which he should refer.

Like the Buddhists, the Taoists are ready to claim almost any god as their own, or any temple, if they can get their hands on it, but nevertheless the number of really Taoist temples is pretty definite, and it is possible to eliminate cults which do not belong to them. For instance, a Taoist monk told me that the Fu City-God temple was Taoist, while the Hsien City-God, who differs from the Fu in no wise save in the district he represents, was Buddhist. The truth is that the City-God does not really belong to either religion, although Taoist monks may be employed to take care of one temple, and Buddhists of another.

In May 1924, after some trouble, I was fortunate enough to find and secure an interview with the head of the Taoist organization in Anking, named Li. Li, by the way, is a very common name among Taoists, because it was the surname of Lao Tzi. This man was a dignified, middle-aged gentlemen, who was very willing to answer questions, and seemed to have quite accurate ideas about religions other than his own, such as Christianity. He gave me some interesting facts about the Taoist church.

The words most commonly used for Taoist temples are Kung and Kuan, but I have not seen it stated in any foreign book that these names also indicate the rank of the temple and the size of the district over which it claims authority. Huai Ling Hsien is divided into nine Kuan, and has one Kung, the Pi Hsia Kung (Hall of the Blue Sky), which is the temple of the Tung Yo. I could learn the names of only eight of the nine Kuan, and of these only the first is in Anking itself. They are :

Yiu Shen Kuan,
Ku T'an Tzi,
Lin Yuen Kuan,
San Ch'eng Tzi,

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Chen Yi Kuan,
Ch'ing Shu Kuan,
San Yuen Kuan,
Tzi Hsiao Kuan.

The Tung Yo, the god of the Pi Hsia Kung, is said to govern the entire province, but there seems to be some dispute concerning the validity of this claim, and some scoffers even confine his activities to the East Gate suburb.

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774 The society consists entirely of men, and has between five and six hundred members in Huai Ling Hsien. The card of my informant, Li, said that he was the head of the provincial organization, with the title, Chen Hui Chang, but he told me that there was little connection between the various branches of the church, even within the province. I had supposed Kiangsi to be the stronghold of Taoism, but he said it was fully as developed in Anhui. The Anking organization is in communication with the T'ien Tsi at Lung Hu Shan, and recently raised 7,000 dollars to defray the expenses of a month's visit by the latter to attend some festivities held by the governor of Anhui in Anking. I regret very much that I did not know at the time that he was in Anking. He seems to travel a good deal, whether for pleasure or in the interests of his organization I cannot say. It is unlikely that a man with so much to lose and so little to gain would meddle with Chinese politics in their present muddy condition, and there does not seem to be anything secret about the society.

772
771 If a man wishes to join the Taoist order, he " Enters the Gate ", through a sort of apprenticeship to a member. As the Taoists' chief means of support is the saying of masses for the dead, it is necessary that they should read, and so the length of the novitiate varies. If the candidate is literate, he studies for three years, but if not, the term is six, and the course includes the Confucian classics. All the members of the society are called Tao Szi, which is usually translated as monk, but this is very misleading, as they may marry and have their own homes. No one not a member is considered a Taoist.

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When a novice is ready to enter the order, he burns a prayer before the picture of Chang T'ien Tsi, and in some way learns the words which will form his religious name, by which he is afterward known in the society.

Formerly the Taoists wore their hair long, but under the republic many shave their heads like the Buddhists, although they do not have the scars of the burnt incense. As shaven heads are very common in China, especially during the summer, it is almost impossible to tell a Tao Szi on ordinary occasions. They do not seem to have monasteries, but the Huai Ling Hsien Chih records the sanctity of a number of noted hermits. For services they have special robes and round small hats. As the T'ien Tsi does not live in Anking, it seems unnecessary to give an account of his equipment.

The Taoists do not engage in many services besides masses for the dead, which are their chief source of income. They themselves do not have too much faith in their ceremonies, but they have to live, and what they do helps the ignorant on the road to virtue. A sincere Taoist, or Buddhist for that matter, has little regard for creeds, or what the majority of Christians usually mean by faith, but the former makes his aim the practice of the doctrines of Lao Tzi and the cultivation in his heart of Tao and Teh.

I do not think it altogether fair to accuse either Taoists or Buddhists of hypocrisy because they engage in practices whose validity they question themselves, for they hold that the majority must have sensuous objects of worship, not being able to understand the subtle abstractions of Chuang Tzi or Nagarjuna, and that the images and the ritual help those incapable of higher things on the way upwards. Their insincerity is not much worse than that of a grown-up telling stories about Santa Claus to children, or fairy tales with a good moral at the end, and everyone living happily ever after.

Taoism seems to include five elements. First there is the attempt of the sincere and educated Tao Szi to realize the doctrines of the Tao Teh Ching and the Taoist philosophers, inaction, mysticism, Tao and Teh. Teh usually means virtue though Lao Tzi uses it as the attribute of Tao, while Tao may signify a good many things, of which " Way " conveys the most frequently used sense. Various writers use it in different senses.

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Secondly, there is what we are usually pleased to call magic, but which is really a sort of rudimentary science and philosophy of nature, not akin to religion.

Thirdly, there are certain ethical doctrines, most of which would be approved anywhere, although some would seem curious to westerners. These are enforced by doctrines of a future life which includes most terrifying punishments for the wicked.

Fourthly, there is the worship of a number of peculiarly Taoist gods, of which the most prominent are the trinity, Lao Tzi, P'an Ku and Yu Huang Shang Ti. These Taoist gods include the spirits of five famous mountains, known as the northern, southern, eastern, western and central peaks, of which the most famous is the eastern. T'ai Shan. As only one of these gods has a temple in Anking, I shall not go into any detail about them.

Lastly, there is a well developed star worship, about which I am not qualified to say anything.

It would be both rash and unnecessary for me to attempt a discussion of these five elements, for scholar after scholar has examined them, and I have nothing to add to what they have said. A list of works on the subject is given in the bibliography. The books most studied by Anking Taoists are the Tao Teh Ching, Nan Hua Ching, and the Huang T'in Ching. Faber, in his article, " The Historical Basis of Taoism ", gives a list of twenty six works, which are so divided as to give an inner and an outer meaning, but the former is there for anyone who can master it. The *Encyclopediaa Sinica* (Taoism), gives the names of other works. Lao Tzi and Chuang Tzi have been translated in the Sacred Books of the East series (vols. 39 and 40), and others by F. H. Balfour (Taoists Texts), while the Tao Teh Ching, of course, has been translated many times. In saying masses, the Yin Fu Ching (Clue to the Unseen), is used. My copy of Balfour seems to have been the property of Sir Robert Harte, and he has made a note in it that the real bible of Taoism is the Kan Yin P'ien (Book of Recompenses), which Balfour has translated. Unfortunately, Balfour is not rel[illegible]ble.

There are at present two Taoist temples in Anking. Two others have

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There are at present two Taoist temples in Anking. Two others have ceased to exist as temples, though the buildings still stand. Of these two temples, only one is of any size, the temple of the Tung Yo outside the East Gate near the Yin Chiang Tzi. The temple is almost a duplicate of the Fu Ch'eng Huang Miao, which will be described later, having a stage for theatricals over the entrance and the ten hells on the sides of the first court. It faces south and has red walls in imitation of the state temples. 779 777 346 776

The Tung Yo (Eastern Peak), is the god of T'ai Shan, the mountain in Shantung famous both for Taoist and Confucian associations. The mountain has received worship from time immemorial, but the Taoist story is that he was originally a general of Wu Wang, of the Chou dynasty (1122 B. C.), who was posthumously honored by the emperor after the former's death in battle.

Tradition says that the temple was originally erected during the T'ang dynasty, but this is very unlikely, and there is no temple history to support the statement, while the Hsien Chih says that it was rebuilt by Li Erh Wan in the 7th year of Shun Chih (1656). Outside the main hall and at the ends of the rows of hells are the images of two gods, Tsung Kuan (Controller of All), on the east and Wen Shen (God of Disease), on the west. Within the hall are three images. In the center is the Tung Yo, wearing robes and a headdress which indicates his rank, and in general resembling the City-God except that the face is gilded, and that there is only one image of the god, which is never carried in procession or taken from the temple. On either side of the Tung Yo are his two ministers, the Wen P'an Kuan and the Wu P'an Kuan (Civil and Military Judges).

It would seem as if the Tung Yo had some of the functions of the City-God as a judge of the dead and he is prayed to for protection generally and for children, though his popularity for the last does not approach that of Kuanyin or the Sung Tzi Liang Liang. In the Anking temple, apparently the only festival in his honor is his birthday on the 28th of the 3rd month, though Richard (Calendar of the Gods), also mentions the 6th of the 2nd month. The son of the Tung Yo, Huang T'ien Hua, has been deified as the Duke Ping Ling, and the grand-daughter is a popular goddess in Shantung. The god is mentioned in the Taoist novel, the Feng Shen Pan.

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779 In the temple are six Pien[1] with the word, " Ling " (Efficiency), and the
812 following Pien and Tui Tzi[2] (Balanced inscriptions).

Pien Eh.

The shelter is wide and large.
Dreadful, famous, clear and effective.
Shines upon the hearts of men.
The Tao of Heaven rewards and punishes.

Tui Tzi.

1. *a)* " No matter how deceitful you are, or how bad, or how much you act against your conscience, Heaven is always watching you. "

b) " You must know that I am a just god, who rewards the righteous and punishes the wicked. I reward and punish in darkness, exactly and without error. "

2. *a)* " I control this world and the other. My courage shelters Wan Chiang (Anhui), and the 3.000 classes of society. "

b) " My power is used to punish and to reward. My grace overspreads a million men. "

3. *a)* " May the snow lie long upon the fields, even though it borrow the strength of the wind ? "

b) " Can the clouds darken the earth for long, even though they borrow the power of the tempest ? "

4. *a)* " Benefits follow the slow accumulation of good works, and punishments upon evil deeds. When you look upon the rewards of the chaste and the punishments of adulterers, you will clean your face and your heart. You will believe in Tao, and turning your boat, soon reach the safe land. "

b) " My rank is equal to that of the Three Dukes (San Kung). I am more awful than the (rest of the) Five Mountains. When you enter my temple your goodand evil deeds are separated. If you try to deceive when you stand before me, you are like the proverb 'Although he has eyes, he cannot tell T'ai Shan from other mountains'. "

1 [Horizontal scroll or tablet at the rear of the main hall of worship.]

2 [Errata: should be Tui Tze.]

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These inscriptions show very well the ethical character of Taoism. The following memorial, from a stone tablet in the temple courtyard, gives an idea how such places were built, and the method of rewarding contributors.

A Stone Tablet in the Tung Yo Miao

" Temples are the shelters of gods. The Tung Yo Miao was first built in the T'ang Dynasty and served as a safeguard for the East Gate and for the whole province. The temple was finely decorated, but after the war (the T'aip'ing Rebellion), it was in ruins, and only the foundations were left. In the reign of T'ung Chih, our forefathers (twenty two names are given), rebuilt the main hall and the porches. Later two more buildings were added, and the Pi Hsia Kung (Hall of the Blue Sky). In the reign of Kuang Hsu, twenty four persons (the names are given), gathered contributions from the merchants and gentry of the city for the erection of a stage for theatricals, two porches and an image of the god, all according to the ancient arrangement. Although the work was never completed, the result was impressive. It was originally intended that the names of the contributors should be carved upon a stone monument, but as funds were not available it could not be done. The building gradually decayed under the weather. A later attempt to raise money was made, resulting in some repairs. The redecorations are now complete, and therefore it is our duty to have the names of the former contributors carved on a monument. Their deeds and their difficulties in this work will be remembered for ever. So we have made this record.

" The 11th moon of the 24th year of Kuang Hsu " (1899 A. D.).

I have been to the Tung Yo Miao many times, but I have never yet seen anyone worshipping in it, except on the birthday.

The other Taoist temple, the Yiu Shen Kuan, is a small, one room affair, containing no images, but tablets of the Taoist trinity. Formerly its dimensions were more imposing. Yiu Shen means " Holy Protector ". The following paragraphs from the Hsien Chih are interesting :